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AN APPENDIX TO THE Critical Dissertation ON THE BOOK of JOB;

Giving a farther Account of the

BOOK of *ECCLESIASTES*.

To which is added,

A REPLY to some NOTES of the late D—n of B——l, in his new Edition of the DIVINE LEGATION, &c. Vol. II. Part II.

By the Author of the CRITICAL DISSERTATION.

Tho: Peters

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APPENDIX, &c.

IN the Preface to the Critical Diſſertation on the Book of Job, I have endeavoured to fix the moſt likely time for the admiſſion of that Book into the canon of holy Scripture; viz. in the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah. At which time the book of Proverbs was reviſed, and a new addition made to it from king Solomon's remains, by the men of Hezekiah (as they are called, Prov. xxv. 1. *) or certain perſons commiſſioned by this good king for that purpoſe. Amongſt whom we have reaſon to conclude that the prophet Iſaiah, or ſome other eminent Prophet of that time, muſt have been admitted, and appointed to ſuperintend, direct, and give the proper ſanction to the whole: as it appears from the Scripture-hiſtory, that no book could be received into the number of thoſe which were reputed ſacred or canonical, but by a Prophetical authority.

That the two other books of Solomon were at the ſame time added to the canon; as alſo another, which, for the reaſons there given, I ſuppoſe to be the Book

* Prov. xxv. 1. Theſe are alſo Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out.

of Job; I have likewiſe endeavoured to ſhew probable, from a remarkable ſymbol to be found amongſt the ancient traditions of the Jews, and preſerved in the Talmud.—The reader, who deſires to ſee the argument at large, may conſult the Preface.

But having there obſerved, that what is told us, Prov. xxv. gives a ſtrong confirmation, a ſort of ſcripture-teſtimony to the tradition conveyed by this ſymbol, I proceed thus:

"There is a ſtill further confirmation of it to be "had from the book of Eccleſiaſtes, which might "well deſerve to be enlarged on, would the limits of "this Preface allow it. For if we may judge from "internal characters, (and we have no other light to "go by where hiſtory is ſilent, and the opinions of "the learned are ſo various) I think it will appear "probable to thoſe who conſider the matter with at-"tention, that this ſurprizing book called Eccle-"ſiaſtes, or the Preacher, and delivered to us in the "form of a ſermon, is indeed a ſermon preached by "Solomon, but long after his death. I mean, that "it was compoſed out of Solomon's remains, and "had this form and title given to it by thoſe that "were appointed to reviſe and publiſh them. A-"mongſt whom the prophet Iſaiah, if I miſtake not, "hath left us a little mark of his own hand-writing, "at the concluſion of the book, for thoſe who are "capable judges of it. *"

This may ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who have not been uſed to ſtudies and reſearches of this kind. But though both Jews and Chriſtians agree in the main concerning the canon of the Old Teſtament, and the ſacred authority of every book: I mean, of all thoſe that are received by Proteſtants, (for the Romaniſts add ſeveral of thoſe we call Apocryphal to the number; to which their beſt writers however give the modeſt title of Deutero-canonical) yet the learned both of Jews and Chriſtians know, that ſome circumſtances relating to theſe books, or ſome of them, ſuch as the

* Pref. p. 41, 4to. p. 59, 8vo.

time

time when, or by whom they were written or compiled, when they were received into the canon, and the like; are left as matters undetermined; and concerning which, as we have no authentic hiſtory to inform us, the beſt lights we can have muſt be fetched from the books themſelves.

And here comes in the uſe of a ſkill in the languages, grammar, criticiſm, &c. together with a happy genius, and a ſober and well-poiſed judgment, not lightly carried away with an affectation of novelty, nor yet too ſervilely reſting in the opinions or authority of thoſe who have gone before him. Indeed he that ſhould incline to do this laſt, will ſcarce know where to fix: ſo wide is the difference upon theſe points of learned men amongſt themſelves. His greateſt caution therefore ſhould be to avoid the other extreme; to examine the originals with care; and to beware, above all, not to put a force upon the ſacred text, merely for the pleaſure or the vanity of extracting from it ſomething new.

With this diſpoſition and caution, I apprehend that whoever has applied his ſtudies this way, may have liberty to offer a conjecture, and ſubmit it to the judgment of the learned: as I now do this relating to the book of Eccleſiaſtes.

The ſubject of the book, though it may ſeem a paradox to the gay or buſy world, is nevertheleſs the moſt intereſting and important, viz. The vanity of human life, with all its cares and toils, reſearches, pleaſures, and purſuits; when ſeparated from religion, or the fear of God, and the obſervance of his laws.

For with this temperament or reſtriction muſt we underſtand it; as appears from the concluſion of the book, as well as from what is intimated occaſionally in ſeveral places. And as we have here a fine picture of the things that are done under the ſun, drawn from the exacteſt obſervation and experience: ſo a divine providence is all along ſuppoſed, God's inſpecting the affairs of men aſſerted, the fear of him inculcated, and the certainty of a future judgment, if not plainly

declared, yet fairly argued and implied. So that ſcarce any one, beſide Le Clerc, hath ſcrupled to acknowledge the two laſt verſes to be a ſort of recapitulation, (as Jerome calls it) of the whole; or a concluſion naturally following from what had been diſcourſed.

But this important ſubject is handled in a ſermon or popular oration: and it is this that gives it the title of Eccleſiaſtes, or the Preacher. And as the firſt words are as the text to the ſermon, "Vanity of "vanities, ſaith the preacher, vanity of vanities, all "is vanity:" ſo it concludes with the ſame words with which it begun (chap. xii. 8.) "Vanity of va-"nities, ſaith the preacher, all is vanity."

For the few verſes that follow, are plainly an addition made to it by the editors of this diſcourſe, (as I have briefly obſerved in the preface to the Critical Diſſertation) giving ſome account of the preacher and his wiſdom, ver. 9, 10. Of themſelves the collectors of his writings or his ſayings, ver. 11. Of the caution with which books are to be uſed, ver. 12. And the drift or deſign of this ſermon before us, in the laſt two verſes. "Let us hear the concluſion of the "whole matter, Fear God," &c.

So that it can ſcarce be doubted, but that this is in the nature of an Epilogus, added by thoſe who had the reviſal and the publiſhing of this book of Solomon's: and who could theſe be, but the ſame that reviſed his book of Proverbs?

But let us proceed to a farther conſideration of this extraordinary book.

There is ſomething in the title of it, which is very ænigmatical,—"The words of the preacher, the ſon "of David, king of Jeruſalem."——But the word for Preacher (viz. koheleth) is fœminine. And yet it appears plain, that Solomon is here the preacher or the preachereſs. And this hath greatly embarraſſed the interpreters and commentators.

Le Clerc ſuppoſes wiſdom (in the Hebrew, chocmah, fœm.) to be here intended as the ſpeaker; be-

cauſe

cauſe ſhe is introduced in the book of Proverbs as ſpeaking in the publick places or aſſemblies. But he might have recollected, that ſhe is not there confounded with Solomon himſelf, which muſt be the caſe here. He gets over the firſt verſe however pretty well, by inſerting the word *ſepher*, book. "The "words of the preachereſs, the book of Solomon," "&c. But when he comes to ver. 12. "I the ko-"heleth was king over Iſrael in Jeruſalem," he is hard put to it, and tranſlates it, ego qui concionatricem ſapientiam ſcripſi fui rex Iſraelis, &c. "I who "wrote the preachereſs wiſdom was king over Iſrael." He ſhould have ſaid the book called ſo: but this would have made the ſupplement longer ſtill, which is too large as it is; for any thing may be proved in this way, if it were allowable to ſupply or add what you pleaſe.

It is ſtrange that one who is ſo over ſcrupulous upon ſome other occaſions, ſhould be ſo poſitive here. Without doubt, ſays he, this muſt be the meaning—rem expreſſimus quæ verbis, ani koheleth, *ſine dubio* ſignificatur.

But have we two preachers here or one? Is it Wiſdom, or is it Solomon that gives us theſe inſtructive leſſons? If Solomon, it agrees to him throughout. If Wiſdom, it is impoſſible to find any ſuch congruity. Wiſdom, for example, could never ſay, "I ſought in my heart to give myſelf to wine—and "to lay hold on folly," &c. chap. ii. 3. Nay where the words, *ſaith the preacher*, are repeated, it is not always poſſible to apply them to Wiſdom, as her words. And yet this commentator, without ſcruple does ſo. For inſtance, chap. vii. 27. Vide hoc inveni, inquit ſapientia concionabunda, ſingulas mulieres perſcrutata, &c. But certainly Wiſdom never put Solomon upon making this dangerous experiment. It was his own great folly, and the ſource of all his miſconduct in his later years.

This notion however was not peculiar to Le Clerc. Mercier before him had the ſame conjecture. But not

being over-well ſatisfied with it, he gives another; wherein he had almoſt hit the mark without being aware of it. "If Wiſdom (ſays he) that is, the Wiſ-"dom of Solomon, be not here meant; yet certain-"ly the ſoul of Solomon may, the principal part of "the man: and this comes to the ſame thing" *.

But could not this learned man have gone one ſtep farther, and ſuppoſed the ſoul of Solomon in his ſeparate ſtate to be here iutroduced as the preacher, and that the good leſſons given in this book muſt ſtrike with a peculiar force, when taken in this light?

This, in ſhort, clears up the whole myſtery of this title. It is Solomon ſubſiſting in his ſeparate ſoul or ſpirit (the nepheſh or ruach, both which are fœminine, and ſo agree with the title koheleth) that is here repreſented as the ſpeaker.

Nor is there any room to doubt, but that he ſpeaks to us, for the moſt part, in his own words. For ſo wiſe a man as Solomon muſt have made many a cool remark upon the vanity of his own pleaſures, even while he was purſuing them. I believe there is ſcarcely a man of ſenſe, but does the ſame.

The aphoriſms and reflections which we meet with here, then, are Solomon's. And the work of the collectors was only to form them into ſuch a book as this, and ſo give it the title of a publick ſermon or oration; (dibre koheleth, the words of the preacher) wherein this wiſe king is repreſented as ſtill ſpeaking to his people, and inſtructing them after his death.

Something of this kind ſeems to be not obſcurely hinted to us by the editors themſelves (chap. xii. 9.) "And moreover becauſe the preacher was wiſe" (ſay they) vod limmed—adhuc docuit—"he hath hitherto "taught (and ſhall ſtill continue to teach) his peo-"ple knowledge." You have been long inſtructed

* Dicendum hic ſapientiæ quæ in ipſo Solomone erat, rationem haberi vel certè animæ ipſius Solomonis, quæ in homine præcipuas partes tenet: quod eodem recidit. Merc. in Eccleſ. cap. 1. Proæm.

by

by his book of Proverbs. And we now give you another book, compoſed out of what we have found among his writings. We have put it into the form of a ſermon for you, that you may be the more affected with it as you read; and you are to receive it, as if you heard him ſpeaking to you himſelf; and proclaiming from his own experience the vanity of all things under the ſun—of all that ſplendor and magnificence for which he had been formerly admired—of all the pleaſures he had enjoyed—nay, and of all the reſearches he had made after wiſdom and knowledge, conſidered as matter of curioſity or amuſement only; and if they ſerved to no *religious* purpoſe——In ſhort, that there is no true good for man to be found beneath the ſun, "all the days of his vain life which "he ſpendeth as a ſhadow:" unleſs the mind be ſolidly fixed on the great author of our beings, who made the world and governs it; and the obſervance of whoſe laws therefore muſt needs be the true, the onl ycertain way to happineſs.

Taking the thing in this light, it clears off all that miſt wherein the learned have found themſelves involved, when they would endeavour to fix the time for Solomon's writing ſuch a book as this. Some ſuppoſing it to have been written after his great defection in his later years, when he had ſeen his errors and repented of them. But there is nothing ſaid of this repentance in the ſcripture hiſtory: and what is more, there is not the leaſt hint of it given us in this book of Eccleſiaſtes; which there certainly would, had it been in the nature of a recantation-ſermon, as ſome conſider it, and publiſhed in his life-time. Others ſuppoſe it to have been written before his defection. But there are many paſſages in the book, that are not to be reconciled with this notion. For it appears that he had gone through his whole round of pleaſures; had tried what enjoyment was to be had in a courſe of madneſs and folly, as well as of wiſdom and ſobriety; and we have here the reſult of his dear bought experience,

experience, particularly towards the concluſion of chap. vii.

But there are ſeveral other marks to convince us, that this was a ſermon preached by Solomon long after his death.

It is obſervable that he ſpeaks of himſelf as of one that had formerly exiſted, and had reigned in Jeruſalem, chap. i. 12. Ani koheleth *hajithi* melec, &c. I the preacher *was* king over Iſrael in Jeruſalem. An expreſſion that cannot be underſtood with any propriety of one that was ſtill reigning.

He often tells us of the things that he had ſeen done *under the ſun*. A phraſe of ſpeech the more remarkable, as it occurs near thirty times in this little book, and no where elſe in all the Bible. And no wonder, ſince it exactly ſuits the ſtate of one who had been removed from the buſy ſcene of this world, and whoſe ſun was now gone down upon him.

And what a beautiful admonition is given us upon this ſubject, and how aptly does it come from Solomon in the ſtate wherein we now ſuppoſe him. Eccleſ. xi. 7, 8. "Truly the light is ſweet, and, a "pleaſant thing it is for the eyes to behold the ſun. "But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them "all; yet let him remember the days of darkneſs, "for they ſhall be many. Every thing that ſets is "vanity."

This is the literal rendering of the laſt words, Col *ſhe-ba* hebel, omne quod *occidit* vanitas. And it is ſtrange the interpreters ſhould miſtake the meaning here, where the light of the ſun is ſpoken of; for it is the very word, that is always uſed for its ſetting. Zarach ha-ſhemeſh, u-ba-ha-ſhemeſh; the ſun riſes and the ſun ſets—ſays this ſame wiſe man, chap. i. 5. of this book. As our preſent life is paſſed *under the ſun*, ſo the inviſible ſtate that muſt ſucceed it, is here called *days of darkneſs*. Had this been a ſtate of utter extinction, or even inſenſibility, thoſe days which the wiſe man bids us remember, would not be worth remembering; for they would be abſolutely nothing, and

and vanity in the ſtricteſt ſenſe. But if "every thing "that ſets is vanity;" and thoſe days are not ſo; then their importance muſt be greatly heightened by this circumſtance of their duration.

Well therefore might Solomon now call the days which he himſelf had paſſed under the ſun, and wherein he had rivalled the ſun itſelf (as it were) in its meridian ſplendor, the days of his vanity. "All "things have I ſeen (ſays he) in the days of my va-"nity:" * And who but would hearken to ſuch a preacher as this, who had tried all things for him to his coſt; and bids him be wiſe and happy in a cheaper way? But I muſt not dwell here.

There is another little mark, which ſeems to ſhew that theſe are obſervations and reflections left by Solomon, and put into this form by the collectors. And that is, that we have here ſeveral detached ſentences † very inſtructive in themſelves, but which do not appear to have any great relation to the main ſubject of the book, nor any viſible connection with what went immediately before or after. Theſe then it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, might be placed here for their excellency, and merely with an intention to preſerve them.

However, the vanity of human life, which is the main ſubject of the book, is ſhewn in a great variety of inſtances, with an intent to fix the hearts of men upon that only true remedy for it, that only ſolid good, which is to be had in the ways of religion and virtue.

There is yet another particular of ſome moment, which is cleared up to us by taking the book in this light; and that is, the reſerve with which a future ſtate is here ſpoken of. For ſurely it would have been very wrong to have made Solomon give any deſcription of the condition of ſouls in the other world, ſince it is left as a thing uncertain what was his own ſtate there. Biſhop Patrick has a pious reflection upon this ſubject well worth the conſidering, Com.

* Eccleſ. vii. 16. † See chap. vii, chap. ix. chap. x.

on

on 1 Kings, chap. xi. ver. ult. Calmet too (in his Dict. on the word Eccleſiaſtes) tells us, "Some have made "a queſtion whether Solomon be ſaved: and his re- "pentance is ſtill at this day a problem in the church." He might, or he might not repent.—The book before us will ſtill retain the ſame inſtructive leſſons of the vanity of human life, and afford the ſame convincing arguments to others to repent.

For though there be nothing ſaid in particular, or to gratify the curious, of the nature of the future ſtate either of reward or puniſhment; yet there is enough ſaid in the general, to ſatisfy us of the reality of ſuch a ſtate: nay, (I think) as fair a demonſtration of it given us, as human reaſon can form. The certainty and exactneſs of a divine judgment is aſſerted—ſuch a judgment here in this life is denied. Let any one reconcile theſe two things if they can, without concluding for a future judgment. God's diſpenſations to the righteous and the wicked here in this life, are repreſented as oftentimes promiſcuous, indiſcriminate, nay ſo as that it ſometimes fares worſe with the good than with the bad. Nevertheleſs the fear of God and keeping his commandments is declared to be, at all events, the ſafe, the wiſe, the happy courſe; and impiety and wickedneſs the contrary.

"Whoſo keepeth the commandment (ſaith this "wiſe man) ſhall feel no evil thing: and a wiſe "man's heart diſcerneth both time and judgment. "Becauſe to every purpoſe there is time and judg- "ment." *

If ever the point of wiſdom was fixed rightly, it is here, in comparing the opportunity of doing things with the judgment that muſt follow them when done: a divine judgment long delayed indeed ſometimes for wiſe and gracious purpoſes, but in the iſſue certain and inevitable.

What follows ſeems to ſhew, that this judgment is to be expected after death.

* Eccleſ. viii. 5, 6.

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"Therefore the miſery of man is great upon him; "for he knoweth not that which ſhall be, for who "can tell him when it ſhall be? There is no man "that hath power over the ſpirit, to retain the ſpirit; "neither hath he power in the day of death: and "there is no diſcharge in that war, neither ſhall "wickedneſs deliver thoſe that are given to it."*

Therefore the miſery, or the wickedneſs of man (for the word rayath ſignifies both) is great, becauſe this judgment of God is a thing future, and the time when it ſhall come uncertain or unknown. Nevertheleſs death will come, and then, if not before, muſt come the judgment: nor will all the power of man, or the wickedneſs of man, be able to prevent it. This ſeems the plain and natural interpretation of this paſſage.

It is evident that the judgment here intended, muſt be either death itſelf, or ſomething after death. Now though death may ſometimes fall upon a wicked unprepared wretch with all the terrors of an execution; yet as it is the common lot of all, it cannot be conſidered in itſelf as a diſcriminating judgment; and therefore ſomething after death muſt needs be meant. And when we are ſo often and expreſsly told in this book, that to every purpoſe there is time and judgment,†---that "God ſhall judge the righteous and the wick-"ed."‡—"Know, thou that for all theſe things God "ſhall bring thee into judgment."‖——And at the cloſe of all, that at the great moment of the diſſolution of ſoul and body, when "the duſt ſhall return "to the earth as it was, the ſpirit ſhall return to "(this great Judge, to) God who gave it."§ Can any one be ſo weak, as to ſuppoſe, that by returning to God was meant, that it ſhall vaniſh into the ſoft air; and not rather, that it muſt return to give account of the things done in the body, whether the man hath lived up to that law which God hath given him?

* Eccleſ. viii. 6—8. † Chap. viii. 6. ‡ Chap. iii. 17. ‖ Chap. xi. 9. § Ch. xii. 7.

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His time of life, is emphatically called (Eccleſ. viii. 15.) "the days of his life, which *God hath* "*given him* under the ſun." And if thoſe days have been employed ſuitably to the deſign of the giver, he will return to him, no doubt, with great hope and comfort. If otherwiſe—The greateſt ſceptic of them all (for this, it ſeems, is the faſhionable philoſophy among us) might do well to think what a hazard he muſt run. Even a habit of gaming, as much as it may tend to induce a habit of inſenſibility, will ſcarce prepare men, when the fatal hour ſhall come, to bear the ſhock of this dreadful chance.

I have made ſo much uſe of this book of Eccleſiaſtes in the Critical Diſſertation (Part III. Sect. XII.) that this might well excuſe me for endeavouring to ſet the book in its true light here. Much more when it is conſidered what a bad uſe hath been ſometimes made of it by rakes and libertines; who have miſtaken their own portrait drawn to be expoſed, for the very features and complexion of wiſdom itſelf.

But it is time to proceed to the chief proof I intended, that theſe are obſervations of King Solomon, put into this form by the reviſors and editors of his remains. This, I think, will appear from chap. xii. 11. when well cleared up; though it muſt be owned that the paſſage looks obſcure at firſt, and in our tranſlation is a mere riddle.

That we may the better find its meaning, and connection with the context, it will be proper to conſider theſe ſix laſt verſes of the book (viz. from ver. 9. to the 14th.) in their order.———

Ver. 9. And moreover becauſe the preacher was wiſe, *yod* limmed dayath eth ha-yam, he hath hitherto taught the people knowledge.—

We can ſcarce ſuppoſe this to have been ſaid by Solomon himſelf, much leſs by Solomon ſtill living: but it comes from the editors with great propriety.

It follows—"Yea he gave good heed, and ſought "out (and) ſet in order many proverbs." This plainly refers to his book of Proverbs: And the different

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expreſſions here uſed, ſhew, that there is no neceſſity of ſuppoſing Solomon himſelf to have been the original author of all the ſayings in that book. It is more reaſonable to believe, that ſome of them had been tranſmitted down to him from the wiſe obſervations of others; but were ſuch, as for their weight and truth had recommended themſelves to his exquiſite judgment, and were therefore placed in this collection.*

And a very fine collection it is, take it in what light you pleaſe.—

It follows, ver. 10. "The preacher ſought to find "out acceptable words (the Hebrew is, dibre che-"petz, words of deſire or delight) ve-cathub joſher, "dibre emoth, and a writing (or writings) of rec-"titude, words of truth."

This is the literal rendering. And if we underſtand by the two latter phraſes, books or writings of a moral kind, either made or collected by king Solomon; the former, dibre chepetz, "words of deſire "or delight," ſeem to point us to the Songs, which he is ſaid to have compoſed in great abundance. We may ſuppoſe they were not all of them upon divine ſubjects. There is one therefore, and but one, preſerved to us, entitled, by way of eminence, A ſong of ſongs. And the very preſerving it among the ſacred books, ſhews evidently in what ſenſe it is to be underſtood, viz. in the figurative or allegorical.

But let us proceed to ver. 11. and ſee what we can make of it. "The words of the wiſe are as goads, "and as nails faſtened (by) the maſters of aſſem-"blies (which) are given from one ſhepherd."

There is nothing to anſwer to *by* or *which* in the original. The diſtribution of the ſentence therefore muſt be this, if we keep to the ſame words: "The

* They were ſuch as his ear had tried, (according to the Hebrew) ve izzen, ve-chikker (or rather choker, the participle) tikken meſhalim harbeh—Et auribus percepit et inveſtigans diſpoſuit parabolas (or paroemias) multas.

"words

" words of the wiſe are as goads, and as nails faſ-
" tened: the maſters of aſſemblies are given from
" one ſhepherd."

But bayale aſuppoth does not ſignify maſters of aſſemblies, but maſters of *collections*, domini collectionum. And this is a plain Hebrew phraſe for thoſe to whom it belonged to collect, or the collectors. For the maſter of a thing, is one to whom that thing belongs: ſo bayal isshah, maſter of a wife, is the uſual phraſe for an *husband*: bayal-ha-chalometh (Gen. xxxvii. 19) a maſter of dreams, is a dreamer; bayalath ob, miſtreſs of Ob, or of the nicromantick way of divination, is the appellation given to the woman at Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 7.) ſo bayale chitzim, maſters of arrows, is the phraſe for archers, Gen. xlix. 23. More inſtances might be produced.

Bayale aſuppoth then means plainly *the collectors*, or thoſe to whom it belonged to collect theſe words of the wiſe here mentioned; and theſe collectors are here ſaid to be given or appointed by one ſhepherd.

But who this ſhepherd is, the learned, as uſual, diſagree. It is Moſes, ſay the Jews, who is all in all with them. It is Solomon himſelf, ſays Le Clerc, who appointed thoſe that ſhould collect his ſayings. It is Zorobabel, ſays Grotius: Hezekiah, ſays another.

They all of them ſeem to have overlooked the plain drift of the paſſage: for it ſpeaks of the words of the wiſe *in general* (chacamim, plural) and the collectors of them from time to time. So that none can be meant ſo truly here, as the one great ſhepherd, maſter, and teacher, God: whoſe wiſdom is that immenſe ocean — ἐξ ὕπιες πάντες πόλαμοι — whence all the ſtreams of revelation, thoſe living waters, flow; and who was " the ſhepherd of Iſrael" in a more peculiar ſenſe, vouchſafing to " lead them like a flock, " and to keep them in the paths of righteouſneſs for " his name's ſake."*

* Pſ. lxxx. 1. Pſ. xxiii. 3.

The

The divine miſſion or inſpiration, (in ſhort) of theſe collectors of the words of the wiſe, ſuch as were appointed from time to time to reviſe, and to fill up the canon of holy ſcripture; is here plainly declared. For as we muſt ſuppoſe this declaration to have a reference to the occaſion, viz. the adding of a book or books to the ſacred code: it was of importance here to mention that authority by which they acted.

So that the expreſſion here uſed ſeems parallel to that of St. Paul, "All ſcripture is given by inſpiration of God."

We are got over the latter clauſe of this verſe then, and have ſeen how much it is to our purpoſe. But there is a greater difficulty in the former clauſe, at leaſt in the Hebrew, which muſt not be paſſed by.

Dibre chacamim cad-darbanoth, "The words of the wiſe are as goads"—It follows וּכְמַשְׂמְרוֹת u-ce-mas-meroth netuyim, (ſo it is pointed and read) et tanquam clavi plantati: This is the interlinear verſion, which profeſſes to be verbal—tanquam clavi impacti, ſays Le Clerc; clavi infixi, Mercier; "as nails faſtened," ſay our Engliſh tranſlators. And ſo the generality of interpreters.

But the word netuyim properly ſignifies planted; and beſide that planting of nails is but an odd expreſſion, there are two inſuperable obſtacles to this conſtruction. For maſmeroth and netuyim are a plain fœminine and maſculine, which can never agree together: and moreover the word, as it is here written, is never uſed for *nails*; for that is with a different s, a ſamech, not a ſhin, viz. מסמרות.

Theſe irregularities ſure, could never have gone down with ſo many learned men, could they have found a tolerable ſenſe in any other way.

The Rabbins indeed have a pleaſant way of getting over difficulties, by ſaying, when they do not underſtand a paſſage, that there muſt be ſome myſtery in it: and ſo they ſay here. In midraſh myſterium in voce latere putant, ſays Mercier. He himſelf

ſelf makes no myſtery of it at all. Though it be a word of the fœminine, ſays he, it muſt have a maſculine ſignification, as you ſee. And ſo for the change of ם into ש, one letter for another; this is a ſmall fault with him. Le Clerc too—looks at it, and paſſes by—"alibi ſcribitur מסמרות," ſays he: This is all.

I own, it is a pleaſure to me, when I find that there is no occaſion for theſe diſtortions of the Hebrew text, but that every thing is regular and grammatical; as I think it is here. For if we only read the word with a different pointing thus, inſtead of וּכְמַשְׂמְרוֹת (u-ce-maſmeroth) וּכְמִשְׁמְרוֹת (u-ce-miſſhemiroth) the ſenſe will be clear, the conſtruction regular, and the figure beautiful and unforced.

The word שָׁמִיר ſhamir, ſignifies a *briar:* and though we meet with no example of it in the plural beſide this; it may have a plural fœminine ſhemiroth *, to diſtinguiſh it, probably from ſhemarim, which ſignifies the lees of wine; both words being derived from the verb ſhamar, cuſtodire, to keep: and I ſuppoſe a hedge of thorns or briars was always eſteemed a good fence.

The words u-ce-mis-ſhemiroth netuyim, then, may be rendered literally, et tanquam ex vepribus plantata—So that the meaning will be this: "The "words of the wiſe are as goads, or as if planted "with briars." The ſenſe is enlarged, we ſee, by this laſt compariſon: and beſide the force and pungency of theſe words of the wiſe, ſomething of their perplexed and intricate nature ſeems here intended; as there is often a great deal of the ænigmatical deſignedly interwoven with them, of which we have a re-

* So zamir cantus (Cant. ii. 12) has a plural zemiroth, Job xxxv. 10, קִיר paries, קִירוֹת 1 Kings xvi. 5. ſo ſhira, ſong, has both ſhirim and ſhiroth. If the jod in ſhamir be omitted in ſhemiroth, this can create no difficulty, as there are many examples of the ſame kind: nay, it ſeems to be more regular than if it were inſerted, as the word has a dependance in conſtruction upon the next that follows, viz. netuyim.

markable

markable example in the firſt ſix verſes of this twelfth chapter. Sure I am, that there are ſeveral paſſages in this book of Eccleſiaſtes which are like briars in this reſpect, that they require a wary and a ſkilful touch, for every hand is not fit to handle them *.

And if this were the general character of Solomon's writings; there was the more need for them to paſs the examination of perſons rightly qualified and authorized, before their being admitted into the canon of holy ſcripture. And probably therefore the collectors meant here to give their reaſons why they had preſerved no more of this great King's works—viz. that ſome of them were beſide the purpoſe of this ſacred collection—that theſe now added might be depended on, as of divine authority—And (as it follows in the next verſe) that of multiplying books there was no end.

We are got over this difficult verſe then, the meaning whereof is literally thus—"The words of the "wiſe are as goads, or as if planted with briars: The "collectors (or thoſe whoſe office it is to collect "them) are given from the one Shepherd," viz. God.

It follows, ver. 2. "And further by theſe, my ſon, "be admoniſhed; of making many books there is no "end: and much ſtudy is a wearineſs of the fleſh."

If theſe collectors had the reviſal of Solomon's library, as well as of his writings; we may ſuppoſe them to ſpeak here from their own experience. Or however this be, the admonition is wiſe and good, that a few books, well choſen, may be ſufficient for all the good purpoſes of life, and far better than an endleſs variety of them: the reading whereof, and

* Mercier, who was a great maſter of the Hebrew, (it is Thuanus's character of him—nunquam quenquam Chriſtianum felicius Hebraizaſſe) and who left behind him ſeveral valuable commentaries on the books of ſcripture, declares that this is not only the moſt difficult and obſcure of the books of Solomon, but in his judgment of all the ſacred writings—Dubium non eſt, quin inter Solomonis libros, imo verò meâ quidem ſententiâ inter omnia ſacra ſcripta liber hic longè ſit obſcuriſſimus.—Pref. in Eccleſ.

much more the making them, muſt be attended with great wearineſs and waſte of ſpirits; and unleſs directed to a right end, may be juſtly reckoned amongſt the vanities of human life, which is the great ſubject of this book.

Then follows the concluſion or reſult of the whole, delivered in a ſentence that can never be enough admired; whether we regard its obvious and apparent truth, or the great weight and importance of it.

Ver. 13, 14. "Let us hear the concluſion of the "whole matter: Fear God, and keep his command-"ments, for this is the all of man—(or the concern "of every man." The words will bear either rendering.)

"For God ſhall bring every work into judgment, "with every ſecret thing, whether it be good, or whe-"ther it be evil."

Thus I have endeavoured to explain the ſix laſt verſes of this book.——And now to recapitulate what has been obſerved—From the view that we have taken of theſe verſes, I ſuppoſe it appears plain, that they are no other than an epilogus added to this ſermon by the collectors of king Solomon's remains—That theſe collectors were probably the ſame with thoſe called the men of Hezekiah, Prov. xxv. 1. who made a new addition to the book of Proverbs—That theſe men of Hezekiah, beſide their being authorized or commiſſioned by *him*, muſt have been qualified for this high office by the one great Shepherd, maſter and teacher, God—One prophet at leaſt divinely inſpired, and well known to be ſuch, muſt have been joined in the commiſſion. And who more likely to be ſo, and to have the ſuperintendency of the whole, than that great prophet, who lived and flouriſhed in Hezekiah's reign, and wrote the acts or hiſtory of that king, the prophet Iſaiah?

As this ſuppoſition is highly reaſonable in itſelf, ſo could we find any thing to corroborate it in the book before us, but eſpecially any little mark of the hand-writing of this great prophet in the epilogus annexed; this

this would give a ſtrong confirmation to the whole of this conjecture.—

Now I think there is one ſuch mark, and I ſhall ſubmit it to the judgment of the learned and the curious. But it depends upon the explication juſt now given of that obſcure clauſe, ver. 11. For if we read it, u-ce-mis-ſhemiroth netuʕim, "as if planted with "briars." (and there is no other reading or conſtruction, that I can perceive, but what is highly irregular and abſurd) It is very remarkable, that the word *ſhamir* occurs no leſs than eight times in the prophecy of Iſaiah, and is conſtantly put for a *briar:* whereas in the other prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, (for they all three uſe the word, though each but once) it is as conſtantly put for another pointed thing, though of a different kind, viz. an adamant or diamond. And whoever deſires to ſatisfy himſelf in this particular, may conſult the texts pointed out to him in the margin below *, and compare his Engliſh Bible with the original; or he may turn to Robertſon's Theſaurus Linguæ Sanctæ, under the word ſhamar, p. 1236. col. 2. and have his authority for it likewiſe. Speaking of the word *ſhamir*, he ſays, In ſolo autem Iſaiâ accipitur pro ſente aut ſpinâ; in aliis prophetis pro adamante.

They who have been uſed to reſearches of this kind, I am perſuaded, will ſee ſomething in this proof which is not to be deſpiſed.

The view that we have taken of this book of Eccleſiaſtes, minds me of a little miſtake in the Critical Diſſertation, P. 3. Sect. 12. where following the common notion I have ſuppoſed the words at the concluſion of the book to be Solomon's: whereas according to the foregoing hypotheſis, they are the words of the editors or collectors, giving an account of the true ſcope, deſign, and uſe of this remarkable ſermon.

* Iſaiah, ch. v. 6. ch. vii. 23, 24, 25. ch. ix. 18. ch. x. 17. ch. xxvii. 4. ch. xxxii. 13. Jeremiah xvii. 1. Ezek. iii. 9. Zechar. vii. 12.

In either light, the proof will be ſufficiently ſtrong as to the purpoſe there intended, which was to ſhew that the Hebrews had ſome knowledge and belief of a future judgment and another ſtate of life.

But if the conjecture here advanced may be admitted, viz. that Solomon, in his ſeparate ſoul or ſpirit, is here repreſented as the preacher; then the thing ſeems to ſpeak itſelf: that the ſeparate exiſtence of the ſoul, at leaſt, muſt have been the common belief of that people. From whence the other doctrine of a ſtate of happineſs or miſery, of reward or puniſhment, follows ſo naturally, that ſcarcely any plain man could miſs of ſeeing the connection.

However this be, I cannot but think that the light wherein I have endeavoured to place this book, beſide fixing its anthority, muſt greatly tend to raiſe our idea of it: when we recollect that we have here the obſervations and reflections of the wiſeſt of men, brought together and put into form by another, no leſs celebrated for his prophetic ſpirit, the foremoſt in order, as being the moſt eminent of God's prophets.

As the ſubject of this book is philoſophical and argumentative, and very different from that of the other books of ſcripture, ſo the ſtyle of it is different: and we meet with ſeveral words here, which do not occur elſewhere—ſuch as ענין, negotium—a toilſome buſineſs, properly, (and well expreſſed by our old Engliſh word travel) uſed about ten times in this book, and no where elſe—So ciſheron, equity, congruity or fitneſs—borrowed from the Chaldee, (ſay the learned) though it might be a Hebrew word, compounded by Solomon for his purpoſe, from ce-jaſhar—Not that we can doubt but that he would borrow from the neighbouring languages any apt words, to ſupply the deficiencies of his own. So did the Romans from the Greeks, when philoſophy grew into faſhion with them. King Solomon, we may ſuppoſe, with all his other wiſdom, was not backward to improve himſelf in the knowledge of tongues. He might practiſe it the more, for the pleaſure of converſing with his foreign miſtreſſes.

To

To this, perhaps, may be owing the frequent uſe, particularly, of the words ſhalat, ſhilton, ſhallit, &c. for bearing rule, authority, or power.—It is remarkable, that the laſt word, ſhallit, is uſed but once more in the Bible, and that is in Gen. xlii. 6. where Joſeph is called ha-ſhallit ʒal ha-aretz, the *governour* over the land of Egypt. This then might be originally an Egyptian word, caught by Solomon from his favourite queen, and which on this account he might be fond of.

There are other little marks of a peculiar, and perhaps the courtly ſtyle, in this book; owing probably to a faſhion caught which might be in uſe when Solomon wrote this, and not long before or after. Thus we find the two Hebrew words ʒad hennah (hitherto) contracted (Eccleſ. iv. 2.) into ʒadennah; and this again, in the very next verſe, to ʒaden. There is no other inſtance in the Bible of this laſt contraction, and only one of the former: and this too ſo obſcured by a wrong pointing, that it was not likely to be found out till the juſt value of theſe points came to be better known. I ſhall cite the place, becauſe it gives a remarkable turn to the ſentence.

Gen. xviii. 12. Upon the promiſe of a ſon to Abraham by Sarah, when both were now grown old, it is ſaid that Sarah laughted within herſelf, and ſaid achare belothi hajethah li ʒednah, ve-adonai zaken? So it is pointed, and tranſlated accordingly in ours, and other Bibles: but ſhould have been pointed, and read thus—Achare bilti hajethah li ʒadennah, &c. that is (what!) "after I have had none hitherto, and "my lord (or huſband) grown old"?

It may be aſked, perhaps, why this latter pointing and reading ſhould be preferred. The anſwer is eaſy: becauſe the former is forced and ungrammatical, turning hejethah *fuit* into *erit* without cauſe. The other is natural and eaſy, does no violence to the Hebrew text, and takes off all the indelicacy of the vulgar reading and tranſlation.

The conjecture is Ludovicus Cappellus's, who took it from the ſeptuagint tranſlation, but needed not to have gone beyond the Hebrew text, where it is much better expreſſed. And by the way, I know not why this learned man, who in his arcanum punctationis, &c. had proved ſo well that the points are no part of the original text, ſhould yet call theſe differences of pointing *various lections*. For what various lection can there be, where there is no variation in the Hebrew letters or the text? If theſe different pointings may be called ſo, it can be only in an improper ſenſe. And yet theſe make a great ſhew in his famous Critica Sacra, and ſwell the number of his various lections greatly. He has a chapter of eighteen pages * of the various lections of this ſort gathered from the ſeptuagint tranſlation only, and tells us at the beginning of it, that he had only ſelected a few for the ſpecimen's ſake, but could have produced an *infinite* number. Thus theſe learned men ſometimes make a very wanton uſe of the words infinita, innumera, and the like.—Father Simon (as I remember) when he is upon theſe ſubjects, plays them off with great dexterity and ſucceſs. But Cappellus was a Proteſtant, and a ſincere one; and happily for us, after all his thirty years labour, and more, in collecting various readings of the Hebrew, to quiet the fears of the over-timorous and ſcrupulous, hath told us (ſpeaking of the whole collection, as I take it) ſunt enim omnes illæ varietates (etſi multiplices) in rebus nullius aut leviſſimi momenti, quibus veritas neceſſaria non obſcuratur aut oppugnatur †. That "theſe variations, though manifold, "are in things of none or of the lighteſt moment, "whereby no neceſſary truth is obſcured or op-"pugned." He adds, that if any ſuch truth ſhould happen to be obſcured by a falſe reading, its repug-

* Crit. Sac. lib. iv. cap. 2. p. 216—234.
† Cap. Crit. Sac. lib. iii. cap. 16. pa. 186.

nancy

nancy to other texts of ſcripture will eaſily detect the falſehood of it.

I have mentioned this in juſtice to Cappellus, whoſe learned work may be of good uſe, if read with judgment.

A certain ſtudious and ingenious man, who in defiance of the contempt thrown by lord Bolinbroke on thoſe who make "fair copies of foul manuſcripts,"* has very laudably turned his ſtudies to the laborious ſearching of Hebrew manuſcripts, and I hope will meet with the encouragement he deſerves; has done another piece of juſtice to Cappellus, by letting the world know, from his own complaint in a letter to our great Uſher, that an unworthy ſon of his, who had gone over to the church of Rome, and who had the charge of printing his father's book at Paris, "thought it his duty to inſert ſome words, and omit "ſome very long paſſages, in defiance of his father's "authority, out of zeal for his holy mother the "church."†

Probably then the *infinites* and *innumerables*, I juſt now ſpoke of, might be ſome of theſe additional words. I am glad however, that the paſſage I have cited above, eſcaped ſo well, and was not among the offenſive paſſages omitted.

The difficulty and obſcurity which there is in many parts of Scripture, but eſpecially of the Old Teſtament (and we cannot conſider the New Teſtament as independent of the Old) hath accidentally had theſe bad effects—That it has given a handle to the Romaniſts to exalt their traditions, or the authority of their church at leaſt, above the written word of God—It has given occaſion to thoſe who ſeek occaſion, to calumniate theſe ſacred books, and to ſet up their own imperfect reaſon as their oracle—It has deterred many a ſtudious man (I am perſuaded) who never-

* Letter I. on hiſtory.

† See Mr. Kennicott's ſtate of the preſent Hebrew text, diſſertation the ſecond, pa. 478, 9.

theleſs has devoted himſelf with the beſt intentions to the ſacred miniſtry, from applying himſelf to the ſtudy of theſe books in the original; or after a ſhort trial, made him deſiſt from purſuing a courſe ſo laudable but ſo laborious—And therefore it is the leſs to be wondered, if others, who thought themſelves under far leſs obligation, though lovers of learning, and well qualified for this, as well as other ſtudies, have nevertheleſs treated the ſtudy of theſe ſacred writings with great contempt and neglect.

The conſequence of this neglect has been (perhaps) but too viſible and deplorable, in that indifference to religion which has long been growing upon the Chriſtian world; and that ſuperficial learning fitted for entertainment and amuſement, which has uſurped the place of what is ſolid and ſerious, and tends to make men wiſer and better.

I call theſe accidental effects; becauſe they do not naturally or neceſſarily follow from the difficulty or obſcurity of the books of ſcripture: but are in reality owing, like all other moral evils, to the negligence and ſloth, or the corruption and depravity of men themſelves.

Were the difficulties of holy ſcripture much greater than they are, yet as theſe difficulties are not unſurmountable, there can be no excuſe for treating with neglect, books which come to us with ſuch high authority, and perhaps when well examined, may appear to carry in them clear internal marks of that authority.

If the books of the Old and New Teſtament are a record of the tranſactions of God their maker with mankind, it was of the higheſt importance that they ſhould be preſerved in their original languages. And as they were written at a great diſtance of time from us, thoſe of the Old Teſtament particularly, ſome of them above three thouſand years ago, and the lateſt above two thouſand; it could ſcarce have been otherwiſe, in the natural courſe of things, but that they muſt, in ſuch a length of time, have their lan-

guage

guage grown into diſuſe, and ſo become obſcure and difficult. It is poſſible theſe difficulties may have been increaſed by the errata of tranſcribers, which without a conſtant miracle could not have been altogether prevented. The late lord Bolinbroke has made this indeed one of his objections to the authority of theſe books. "I think (ſays he) that theſe "accidents would not have happened, or that the "ſcriptures would have been preſerved in their ge-"nuine purity notwithſtanding theſe accidents, if "they had been entirely dictated by the Holy "Ghoſt."*

To which it is ſufficient to reply, that theſe books have been preſerved (through a peculiar providence proportioned to their high nature and importance) with ſo much care, and ſo little damage, that the beſt judges of this matter, after the moſt diligent enquiry, have pronounced, that theſe errors of tranſcribers, as formidable as their number may appear, are in reality of little or no moment; as was juſt now obſerved from the equally learned and laborious Cappellus. The chief of them indeed are in names, and numbers, and geneologies, and ſuch things as are of the leaſt concern to us.

But be theſe rubs or difficulties what they will, they will be always growing leſs and leſs to thoſe who are endued with a proper meaſure of patience and perſeverance, and a competent ſhare of other learning: for this muſt always be ſuppoſed as a preparatory to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures. It is ſcarce poſſible indeed to be a good proficient in theſe ſtudies, without being a general ſcholar. And one great ſcandal, perhaps the greateſt of all, which has created ſuch a contempt or diſguſt of this ſort of literature, has ariſen from men of little learning, and a whimſical turn, ſetting themſelves up for interpreters of theſe ſacred books.

Our gentlemen of free thought indeed, or ſome of them, ſeem of late to think learning and religion equally unneceſſary. Nevertheleſs it may deſerve to be

* Let. III. on hiſtory, pa. 79. 8vo.

be conſidered, whether both of them be not of the higheſt neceſſity, though not for every particular perſon, yet for the world, or for mankind in general. The idolizers of human reaſon ſhould have conſidered, that even to reaſon well, and eſpecially about things of the higheſt importance, requires a good ſhare of the one, as well as the other. And perhaps there never was an inſtance of a perſon of an immoral or an irreligious turn, and who had not his appetites and paſſions iu ſubjection, that reaſoned upon theſe ſubjects as he ſhould.

We may carry this reflection then a little farther, and conſider whether what has been made by ſome an objection to the holy ſcriptures, and repreſented as unworthy of the divine wiſdom and goodneſs, viz. that men ſhould depend for their religion upon books written in languages that have been long ſince dead, and require great pains and ſtudy, and the helps of learning, to underſtand them thoroughly.—I ſay, it may deſerve to be conſidered, whether this ought not rather to be regarded as an inſtance of a wiſe and gracious providence, and in reality a benefit to the Chriſtian world: as it draws with it a ſort of neceſſity, that religion and learning ſhould go hand in hand, and contribute to the uſefulneſs and perfection of each other; and thereby to the happineſs of human ſociety.

Whatever may have been the cauſe of it, it is manifeſt (I think) at preſent, that all the learning in a manner that is now in the world, is confined to thoſe parts of it where the true religion is profeſſed, or where Chriſtianity prevails. Is this phænomenon owing to thoſe books we treat with ſuch contempt? or to what other cauſe ſhall we aſcribe it?

How neceſſary to the well being of mankind this union betwixt learning and religion is, and what a mutual advantage and ſupport they derive from each other, if we will ſuffer the hiſtory and experience of the world to teach us, may be learned from two very remarkable periods.

When

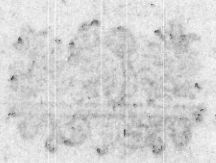
When learning ſhone out in its full ſplendor, but religion (I mean revealed religion, which alone carries with it a proper weight of authority) was loſt amongſt the heathen nations; we know what a heap of errors and ſuperſtitions had crept in upon them, which deſtroyed all true piety; and for which the beſt endeavours of their learnedſt men could find no remedy; till a better light aroſe upon the world in the revelation of the goſpel.

And again, ſince the ſpreading of Chriſtianity, what a cloud of errors were introduced, and had overſpread this weſtern world in ages of darkneſs and illiterature? which a revival of learning nevertheleſs ſoon diſſipated in part, as it brought the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures into faſhion again, and contributed to reſtore religion to its purity; which, probably, it might have done more effectually, and more widely, had not ambition and a falſe policy (which is ſeldom friendly either to learning or religion) interpoſed to fruſtrate theſe good ends.

I leave it to thoſe who are moſt concerned, to make the proper uſe of theſe two facts—for it is time to put an end to theſe reflections.

I muſt now addreſs myſelf to a much more diſagreeable taſk, which I ſhould gladly have declined had it been poſſible. But neceſſity (they ſay) has no law.—

——κρατερὴ δέ μοι ἔπλετ' ἀνάγκη.



A

REPLY

TO SOME

NOTES

OF

DR. W. D---N of B.

In the new Edition of the DIVINE LEGATION, &c. Vol. II. Part. II.

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TO THE

Right Reverend ———

MY LORD,

THE following ſheets were drawn up for the preſs, and wanted little more than the tranſcribing, when the news-papers brought us an account of your advancement to the ſee of G.

This put me to a ſtand at firſt, as knowing the intimate relation and connection between the D—n of B. and yourſelf. But I ſoon recollected, that a Biſhop, after conſecration, is quite another perſon than he was before: and that, abſtracted as your Lordſhip now muſt needs be from all ſecular biaſs, I might freely plead my cauſe before you, though it ſhould touch your neareſt friend, or even yourſelf.

Without farther preface therefore, I ſhall proceed to lay before your Lordſhip my complaint, not doubting, but that, as I take you for my judge, you will regard with the ſame indifferent and impartial eye the late D—n of B—l and myſelf. For though the delicacy and warmth of friendſhip may be great, the love of truth, in virtuous minds, is always greater—et ponet perſonam amici, qui induit judicis. Cic.

A REPLY, &c.

WHEN I firſt publiſhed the Critical Diſſertation on the book of Job, I was apprehenſive that I might draw upon me the reſentment of the author of the Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated, &c. for preſuming to offer my objections to the new and ſingular account which he had given us of that highly valuable book of ſcripture: and therefore took all the care I could, and all that was conſiſtent with that decent freedom wherewith men of letters have a right to treat each other, to avoid giving him offence.

But I was at length freed from my apprehenſions, having learned that Dr. W———n deſpiſed my book, and diſdained to anſwer it.

It is well for me, (thought I with myſelf) I ſhall then eſcape his laſh: and ſince this gentleman is ſo wiſe and cautious, let me learn a little wiſdom from him.——When therefore a new edition of the book was called for, to ſhun all appearance of any intention to provoke him, I was reſolved to ſay nothing in the preface, either of, or to him.

But whether my ſilence was interpreted by him as proceeding from diſdain, (for I ſuppoſe none muſt be allowed the privilege even of diſdaining but himſelf) or whether he obſerved that the preface to this ſecond edition of the Critical Diſſertation had been received by equal judges, with as much favour as the book—the ſtorm broke out at laſt; and that with violence enough to blow away me and the book too—had we been made of feathers.

Nevertheleſs, here I am as yet; and it is to be hoped the ſtorm is over. For certainly the D— of B——l, in his cooler thoughts, could never juſtify to himſelf the peeviſh treatment he had given me, and with which he hath ſwelled a few notes in vol. II,

part II, of his new edition of the Divine Legation.—A work which he intends (no doubt) ſhould live as long as time itſelf ſhall laſt. And would he chuſe to have the author's picture ſet before it, like a Boreas, with inflated cheeks and eyes? Or did he forget that he was tranſmitting his own picture to poſterity, in his manner of writing?

He was as good as his word indeed not to anſwer the *book*, for reaſons that may be gueſſed. But there is a way of anſwering an *author*, which is quite another thing, and with the lower claſs of readers may do quite as well.—Do but rail at him enough, and the work is done.

I was ſo weak as to conclude, that this was an expedient to which none but little minds would ſtoop. But it ſeems as if this great man was perſuaded, that he could cruſh me all at once, with the weight of an overbearing reputation, and a few hard names. "The "inſolence—the fraud—the nonſenſe——and I cannot "tell what nonſenſe beſide——diſingenuity—igno-"rance—prævarication," *&c.*

Theſe (my lord) are the flowers of his rhetorick, which he has beſtowed upon me with much freedom: but with how much juſtice, may appear hereafter, if your lordſhip can but have the patience to review theſe notes with me.

This uſage is the more ſurprizing, to thoſe at leaſt with whom I have converſed; as they aſſure me, that the general opinion is, that I had treated the author of the Divine Legation, with decency and candor: neither has the D—n produced any one inſtance to the contrary (that can appear ſuch to the unprejudiced reader) in all that he hath quoted from me in theſe notes.

Let your lordſhip judge then, what could have provoked him to this cruel treatment of me.——Was it neceſſary that he ſhould aſſume theſe ſuperior airs, to let the ſimple know what an awful diſtance is to be maintained betwixt a dignified and undignified clergyman? We were undignified alike when I publiſhed

liſhed my Diſſertation on the book of Job: and had I uſed a language to Mr. W—b——n any thing like what he has here ſuffered to fall from his pen, what would he have ſaid? or, what would the world have ſaid of me?

They will now (my lord) be apt to ſay, that it came with a much worſe grace from the D—n of B. when he ought to have obſerved that decorum which was due to himſelf, and his eminent ſtation in the church—due to thoſe by whoſe favour he was promoted; and the great names of thoſe, who had been pleaſed to honour him with their friendſhip—And I think I have a right to add, that ſomething was likewiſe due to the opinion of thoſe who had expreſſed their approbation of my book—ſome of theſe as able judges as the D—n himſelf; I might have ſaid, his ſuperiours every way. It may offend his delicacy to be told, that a very good friend of his, then in the higheſt ſtation of the church, was ſo well ſatisfied with the book when it came out, as to expreſs himſelf in theſe terms amongſt others—— "If W—— "has any ingenuity in him, he ſhould thank Mr. "P——."

I am pleaſed (methinks) that the want of ingenuity ſhould be laid by this unbiaſſed judge, to Dr. W——, and not to me. His thanks I never expected: but had reaſon to expect, that this, and other conſiderations, might have ſcreened me from abuſe.

I might complain of it as another circumſtance of hardſhip; that this fine character wherewith the D—n of B——l has been pleaſed to adorn me, is conveyed to the publick, not in an idle pamphlet of a day, but in the body of this great work which is to live for ages. And if the life of books, like that of animals, is to be eſtimated by the length of time wherein they are growing to maturity, this book muſt certainly be long-lived: unleſs through the bad humours that prevail in it, and ſeem to prædominate more and more, it ſhould chance to die before

its time. But theſe (it is to be hoped, my lord) may, by a future ſkilful management, be either corrected or expelled.

Before I proceed to the conſideration of theſe notes, I have this one thing further to premiſe: viz. that ſince the D—n has uſed me with ſo little ceremony, I hope it will not be expected that I ſhould obſerve much towards him. It will be well indeed, if I can always keep my temper; which I ſhall endeavour to do for the ſake of both of us. And as the readers for amuſement only will find little entertainment here, and will ſcarce trouble themſelves about the matters controverted; I ſhall deſire the few candid and judicious (if your lordſhip will vouchſafe to admit theſe as your aſſeſſors) who may have read my book, and may therefore have the curioſity to peruſe this defence, not to be ſcandalized at the courſe language they will find me quoting from this angry writer; but to give his arguments a fair hearing, and attend to the merits of the cauſe.

SECT. I.

The firſt note that relates to me, is in vol. II, part II, at page 167; and as all the notes that I am concerned with, belong to this part of the D. L. I need only for the future to refer to the page.

The ſubject of this note is indeed a queſtion of importance, viz. whether the doctrine of a future ſtate was of popular belief or not, amongſt the ancient Jews or Hebrews.

"A Corniſh author" (ſays the Dean, naming me in the margin) "purſues the ſame argument againſt "the Divine Legation; but takes his parallel much "higher. There is no one (ſays he) who reads Ho-"mer, that can doubt whether a future ſtate were the "popular belief amongſt the Greeks in the times he "writes of. And yet, by what I remember of "him, I believe it would be difficult to produce ſix "inſtances in all his poems of any actions either en-

"tered

" tered upon or avoided, from the expreſs motive of " the rewards or puniſhments to be expected in the " other world."

Theſe indeed are my words, Crit. Diſſ. on Job, part III, pa. 267, 8, Quarto, and pa. 265, octavo. I mark the page, becauſe the Dean has not done it here; as if he did not deſire that the reader ſhould turn to my book. For if he does, he will ſee that theſe words of mine relate to an objection there propoſed, which is this; that " had the doctrine of a fu- " ture ſtate been generally known and believed un- " der the Old Teſtament, a point of that importance " would have been mentioned there more frequently." To this objection the reader may ſee a brief reply (if he pleaſe) in the pages referred to; and will obſerve how fitly this inſtance of Homer's poems is introduced.

But now for the Dean's remark.

" I inferred (ſays he) from a future ſtate's *never* " being mentioned in the Jewiſh hiſtory amongſt the " motives of men's actions, (after it had been omit- " ted in the Jewiſh law and religion) that it was not of " popular belief amongſt that people. Now here " comes an anſwerer, and ſays, that it is not men- " tioned above ſix times in Homer, and yet that " no body can doubt whether it were not the popu- " lar belief amongſt the Greeks. The good cautious " man! Had it been but once mentioned in the Old " Teſtament, I ſhould no more have doubted of its " being of popular belief amongſt the Jews, than he " does"——

The beſt thing here is, that the Dean ſhews a great readineſs to come into the notion that the doctrine of a future ſtate was of popular belief amongſt the ancient Jews, if he could ſee it but once mentioned in the Old Teſtament. I congratulate his learned adverſaries upon this hopeful ſtate of mind, and wiſh that he may ſtill continue in it. But what I have to obſerve here is this, that as he has quoted my words out of place, ſo his reply is nothing to the purpoſe.

If he would have my words conſidered as an anſwer to any thing that he has advanced; to deal fairly by his reader, he ſhould have placed this note a page or two backward, where he has theſe words, with very little variation from the firſt edition, and therefore I ſhall give them as they ſtand in this new one. Pa. 165.

"But to ſet this argument in its fulleſt light; let "us conſider the hiſtory of the reſt of mankind" (that is, beſide the Jews) "whether recorded by "bards or ſtateſmen; by philoſophers or prieſts: in "which we ſhall find the doctrine of a future ſtate "ſtill bearing, throughout all the various circum-"ſtances of human life, a conſtant and principal ſhare "in the determinations of the will."

To this aſſertion, the inſtance I produced of Homer's poems, the reader will obſerve to be a proper anſwer. Here is an old bard giving us a piece of hiſtory, or a poem founded on a piece of hiſtory, of the ancient Greeks, wherein their manners, cuſtoms, actions, ſentiments are deſcribed, in a juſt and lively manner; and yet we do not find, though their belief of a future ſtate is unqueſtionable, that in all or any "of the various circumſtances of life, it "bore a conſtant or principal ſhare in the determi-"nation of their wills". So far from it, that I could not remember ſix inſtances in all his poems (and if the Dean could have found ſeven, how he would have triumphed!) of any action undertaken or avoided from the expreſs motive of future reward or puniſhment.

But now if he had wanted an inſtance that even the ſilence of hiſtory cannot be drawn into a proof of the popular diſbelief of a doctrine, the good cautious man (as he calls me) had given him one in the very next paragraph: where I had obſerved it as ſomething remarkable in the book of Eſther (a book of a competent length, for it contains ten chapters) that although it preſents us with a great variety of occurrences reſpecting the Jews in particular, yet the name

of

of God is not ſo much as mentioned in the book. And yet none can be ſo weak as to conclude from hence, that they were become at this time a ſet of atheiſts.

Let us proceed however with this note.

" Had it been but once mentioned (ſays the D—n) " in the Old Teſtament, I ſhould no more have " doubted of its being of popular belief amongſt the " Jews, than he does. Why then do we doubt ſo " little in the caſe of the Greeks, but for the ſame " reaſon, why we ought to doubt ſo much in the " caſe of the Jews." (This ſeems a little cloudy: but the D—n loves to involve himſelf in obſcurity.) " Homer (who gives a detailed account of a future " ſtate) this writer allows, has mentioned it about ſix " times as a motive." (By the way, I have not allowed, but queſtioned it—but let this paſs) " The " ſcriptures, which together with the hiſtory deliver " the law and religion of the Jews, in which a future " ſtate is omitted" (This is often taken for granted by the author of the D. L. and if we would but allow him his omiſſion, what fine things he could do!) " mention it not once as a motive. But this anſwerer " would make the reader believe I made my inference " from the paucity, and not from the want of the " mention. The ſame may be obſerved of another " expreſſion of this candid gentleman's, " expreſs " motive." Now much leſs would have ſatisfied " me; and I ſhould readily have allowed that the " Jews had the popular belief amongſt them, had the " motive been but once fairly implied."

This is ſtill more and more hopeful. And if Dr. W. be in earneſt, and will ſtick to this gracious conceſſion, it will bring the matter to a ſhort iſſue. For the very reaſon, as I take it, why we ſee ſo few inſtances in Homer, of men's acting from the expreſs motive of another life, is becauſe they acted from another motive, which fairly implied it, viz. the doctrine of a providence, and the ſuperintendency of the gods over human affairs. I believe the doctrines

of

of a providence and a future ſtate have been evermore connected in the thoughts of thoſe who have made any juſt obſervations on the courſe of things in this world. We find, in fact, that the two doctrines have been uſually held and denied together, from the time of Lucretius, or his maſter Epicurus, down to the ſoft lovers of pleaſures and free-thinking produced by this enlightened age.

Nay, the D—n himſelf appears to have ſeen the connection of theſe two things in the Heathen creed; and makes their belief of a future ſtate a conſequence of their belief of a providence *. And why then ſhould he give harder meaſures to the Hebrews? What ſhould hinder the Jewiſh people from drawing the ſame conſequence? It muſt follow much more ſtrongly, in proportion as the God they worſhipped was ſuperiour in every natural and moral perfection, in power, wiſdom, juſtice, goodneſs, to the deities of the heathen; and in proportion as they had in fact much clearer and more convincing demonſtrations of a divine providence than the heathen had. There is but one unluckly circumſtance, then, that could hinder them from ſeeing the conſequence above-mentioned, viz. the notion of a ſtrictly equal and exact diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments in this life. A paradox ſo ſtrange, that it is not to be found among Tully's; nor, by the D—n's own confeſſion, amongſt thoſe of any other philoſopher. "Amidſt "the great variety of human opinions (ſays he) as "extravagant as many of thoſe are which philoſo-"phic men have ſome time or other maintained, we "do not find any of them ever held or conceived that "God's providence was equally adminiſtered †."— And no wonder: if it be a thing that neither was,

* See D. L. vol. I. pa. 90. neweſt edit. "The popular doc-"trine of a providence, and conſequently of a future ſtate of rewards "and puniſhments, was, as we have ſaid, ſo univerſally received "in the ancient world, that we cannot find any civilized country "where it was not of national belief."

† D. L. vol. II. part II. pa. 242. new edit.

nor

nor is, nor will be, nor ought to be, nor can be, while the world ſtands.

Here then we may take him at his word. And unleſs he will ſtill maintain his ſtrictly equal providence in Judea, he muſt allow the Jews the doctrine of a future ſtate, as a conſequence of that doctrine of a providence which they held, and of the truth whereof they had ſuch large experience. And then the motive, whether expreſſed or not, being fairly implied, ought to ſatisfy him, that this was the popular belief.

But to return—As for the inference the Dean mentions, I had nothing to do with it. I knew it muſt fall of courſe, if his notion of the *omiſſion* were proved to be a miſtake. Nevertheleſs, if the reader deſires to ſee the inference he ſpeaks of, I ſhall here give it in his own words, pa. 162, 3.

" Hear then the ſum of all. The ſacred writings " are extremely various both in their ſubject, ſtyle, " and compoſition. They contain an account of the " creation, and origin of the human race; the hiſtory " of a private family, of a choſen people, and of " exemplary men and women. They conſiſt of hymns " and petitions to the Deity, precepts of civil life, " and religious prophecies and predictions. *Hence I* " *infer*, that as, amidſt all this variety of writing, " the doctrine of a future ſtate never once appears to " have had any ſhare in this people's thoughts; it " never did indeed make part of their religious " opinions."

A worthy inference indeed, from a propoſition deſtitute of proof! What had I to do with an inference that had no foundation? Would he have me combat ſhadows?

But as Dr. W. had here aſſerted that " the doc- " trine of a future ſtate never once appears to have " had any ſhare in the thoughts" of the Jews: ſo, to back this argument by another thing as groundleſs, or, as he terms it, " to ſet his argument in the ſul- " leſt light," he bids us, " conſider the hiſtory of " the reſt of mankind, whether recorded by bards or " ſtateſmen,

" ſtateſmen, by philoſophers or prieſts; in which " we ſhall find the doctrine of a future ſtate ſtill " bearing, throughout all the various circumſtances " of human life, a conſtant and principal ſhare in " the determinations of the will." pa. 165.

Here then are two aſſertions whereof this argument is compoſed. 1. That the doctrine of a future ſtate never once appears to have had any ſhare in the thoughts of the Jews. And, 2. That it appears to have had a conſtant and principal ſhare in the thoughts and determinations of all other people, as we learn from their various hiſtories.

With regard to this ſecond aſſertion, delivered with ſuch a pompous air, it happened luckily that old Homer ſtood my friend. And as for the former, which the D—n has endeavoured to ſupport by a few pages of oratory and aſſertion; the reader, if he pleaſe, may ſee a full confutation of it in the twelve firſt ſections of part III, of the Critical Diſſertation on the book of Job: where I have ſhewn from the beſt evidence in the world, viz. plain, vulgar, and popular expreſſions, what was the popular belief of the ancient Jews as to the doctrine of a future ſtate.

As the D—n aſſerts, that in all that variety of writing, and variety of ſubjects whereof the Old Teſtament conſiſts, ſuch as " hiſtory, hymns and petitions to the Deity, precepts of civil life, and religious " prophecies and predictions, the doctrine of a future " ſtate never once appears to have had any ſhare in " this people's thoughts;" and from thence infers, that it never did make " part of their religious opi- " nions:" ſo my method was to ſhew from their hiſtory, their hymns, their books of morality, and their prophetical books, that a future ſtate did make part of their religious opinions. And from thence the inference is plain, viz. that it muſt have had a ſhare in their thoughts, whether it might *appear* to have had it, or not. For " though there can be no " doubt but that perſons who ſeriouſly believe another " life, will be influenced by it in their general con- " conduct;

" conduct; yet whether they may *appear* to be ſo, is " another queſtion." Theſe are my words in the place taken notice of by the Dean; and to illuſtrate this it was, that the inſtance of Homer's poems was produced *.

So that here you ſee, my lord, (for I muſt beg leave to addreſs myſelf to your lordſhip now and then, as I have taken you for my judge: and I hope it will have that good effect upon me to keep me within bounds—) your friend the D—n begins to ſhew his ſkill in the arts of controverſy at the very firſt ſetting out. He would have it thought that my inſtance from Homer was levelled againſt his firſt aſſertion, and not againſt his ſecond. And ſo was in hopes that he ſhould catch the good cautious man (as he calls me) or the unwary reader, in a trap.

But what ſignifies this trifling, when he ought to have been ſupporting his favourite doctrine of the *omiſſion* againſt all that weight of evidence that has been produced to the contrary.

As the queſtion, whether the ancient Jews believed or diſbelieved a future ſtate, is a queſtion of fact; the readieſt way to determine it, as I thought, was by examining attentively the ſcriptures they received as ſacred. This therefore was the method which I took to ſatisfy myſelf. And the reſult of that enquiry has been laid before the public in Part the Third of the Critical Diſſertation, &c. where I have ſhewn, or attempted to ſhew, that the doctrine of a future ſtate muſt have been all along the popular belief of the Jews, if they underſtood their own language, and were acquainted with their own ſcriptures.

I have firſt conſidered the objections to this notion, and, in as brief and clear a manner as I could, endeavoured to remove them. Next, the preſumptions on the other ſide of the queſtion; which all (except the D—n perhaps) will allow to be very ſtrong: as particularly, the univerſality of this belief amongſt the other nations of the world; and its being conteſ-

* See the Crit. Diſſ. pa. 265, 8vo. pa. 267, 4to.

ſedly

ſedly the belief of Abraham, and the patriarchs, and Moſes; who had no command, that we read of, nor even a permiſſion to conceal ſo important a doctrine from the people. To this I have added a large and direct proof of the fact itſelf, and from a brief deduction of the Moſaic hiſtory, and the plain and literal meaning of common words and phraſes uſed throughout the books of Moſes, as well as the other books of ſcripture, have ſhewn a future ſtate to be the doctrine of the Old Teſtament throughout. More particularly, that this people all along believed the ſeparate exiſtence of the ſoul; a diſtribution of the good and bad into two different claſſes or ſocieties during this their ſeparation; a reſurrection and a future judgment.

This was my method of ſupporting the affirmative ſide of the queſtion.

The D—n, on the other hand, contends for the omiſſion of the doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment in the Moſaic diſpenſation; and aſſerts, that as "Moſes taught not this doctrine, ſo "neither had the ancient Jews any knowledge of "it".* But how is it that he has proved his point? Omiſſion is a ſort of negative that is not eaſily proved: or if it be, it muſt be (I think) in a ſort of negative way; I mean, by invalidating the evidence that is brought to the contrary. And yet, as if he had no concern with this evidence, he has thought fit to paſs it by; and to quote a few lines from my book about Homer's poems, and this too out of place, to ſhew how dextrouſly he can miſs the mark.

If I was to enlarge upon my former proofs, or even to tranſcribe the whole book for him, it would be labour loſt. For the D—n hath told us frankly once for all, that we muſt not conceive ſo miſerably of him, as to think that he was ever diſpoſed to look into his adverſaries books.

* See the Contents of vol. II, part. II, ſect. 5.

As

As this profeſſion has ſomething in it very extraordinary, it is but juſtice to give it in his own words: and it ſeems to me a great curioſity.

"It was now time" (ſays he) "to ſettle my accounts with them," (his anſwerers.) "To this end I applied to a learned perſon, who, in conſideration of our friendſhip, has been prevailed upon to undergo the drudgery of turning over this dirty heap, and marking what he imagined would in the leaſt deſerve, or could juſtify any notice: for I would not have the reader conceive ſo miſerably of me, as to think I was ever diſpoſed to look into them myſelf."*

No—why ſhould you? For though audi alteram partem be a neceſſary rule in other caſes, yet as your celebrated book is a demonſtration, it muſt needs be the touchſtone of truth itſelf; and ſo all the anſwers that either have, or will, or can be made to it, are already confuted.

And yet one would think, my lord, (if I may have leave to turn to your lordſhip upon this occaſion) that any one, beſide the D—n himſelf, might have been a little diſtruſtful of this demonſtration, which hath run itſelf to ſo great a length, and is ſtill going on to an indefinite one; has been reviſed, republiſhed, and received ſo many alterations, for the better or the worſe, from his own hand: and that he ſhould have been glad to know all that could be ſaid againſt it, even though he might thereby run the hazard of ſeeing it demoliſhed.

There ſeems to be ſomething heroic in what is related of Winſtanley: who, after he had built the light-houſe upon Edyſtone, wiſhed himſelf there in a ſtorm, that he might obſerve the weak places of his work. He obtained his wiſh, and died an honourable death at leaſt, when in the dreadful ſtorm of November 1703, he and his houſe were waſhed away together. The D—n of B. could have nothing to

* Pref. to vol. II. part ii. pa. 40.

fear

fear but for his edifice: and why then ſhould he be ſo over nice and ſcrupulous?

I hope your lordſhip will permit me to make one good-natured uſe, however, of the paſſage here produced, in favour of your friend; and that is, to deſire the learned and humane reader, that when, in the courſe of this reply, he ſhall obſerve any thing that may ſeem to him either below the dignity of the D—n of B—l, or unworthy of ſo great a genius, cited from theſe notes: he will call to mind, that they were only a few haſty animadverſions of this celebrated writer, on a book, which, by his own confeſſion, he never was diſpoſed to read.

And ſo, let me diſmiſs this aſtoniſhing ſubject, and return.

The remaining part of this note relates to Homer's poems; and ſhews us the D—n's faſtidious taſte, or (what ſhall I call it?) his contempt of every thing that may be alledged in oppoſition to this favourite work of his, the Divine Legation.—For certainly one who had enjoyed ſo long and intimate an acquaintance with Homer's admired tranſlator, could never otherwiſe have been induced to think ſo meanly of this poet, as he would have us believe, by the pitiful views which he aſcribes to him in the compoſition of his poems. For thus the note proceeds—

"But let us take him at the beſt, and ſuppoſe "Homer did not afford one ſingle inſtance. What, "I pray you, has Homer in common with Moſes? "Suppoſe I ſhould affirm from the Greek hiſtory, "that the ancient worthies always proportioned their "work to their ſtrength and bulk; and that my "anſwerer was not in an humour to let this paſs; "but to confute me, would preſs me with the high "atchievements of Tom Thumb, as they are re-"corded in his authentic ſtory; who was as famed "for his turbulence in king Arthur's court, as "Achilles was in Agamemnon's: would not this be "juſt as much to the purpoſe, as to put the Iliad

"and

" and the Odyſſey in parallel with the Law and the " Prophets ?"

It would be out of ſeaſon here to offer at a ſerious anſwer, where the D—n ſeems only to have intended to raiſe a little mirth; or to draw a ſmile from his reader by this elegant compariſon, ſo new and ſo ſurprizing, betwixt the hiſtory of Tom Thumb, and the ſubject of Homer's poems. But as to the other particular, my putting the Iliad and Odyſſey in parallel with the Law and the Prophets, we ſhall ſee how he explains himſelf in the following paragraph.

" But Homer's poems (ſays he) have been ſo long " called the *Bible of the Pagans*, that this anſwerer ap- " pears, in good earneſt to have taken them for a " *religious hiſtory*; otherwiſe, how could it have ever " entered into his head, to make ſo ridiculous a com- " pariſon? My reaſoning with regard to ſcripture " ſtood thus——As all good hiſtory deals with the " motives of men's actions, ſo the peculiar buſineſs " (as it ſeems to me) of *religious hiſtory*, is to ſcruti- " nize their *religious motives*. Of theſe, the principal " is the conſideration of a future ſtate. And this not " being ſo much as once mentioned in the ancient " Jewiſh hiſtory, it is natural to conclude that the " Jews of thoſe times had it not."

The reader will obſerve, that the D—n has been ſo long uſed to take this point for granted, that the doctrine of a future ſtate is " not ſo much as once men- " tioned in the ancient Jewiſh hiſtory "; that he lays it down for a principle: and allow him but this ſingle point, what fine concluſions he can draw!

But as to what he here ſays, " My reaſoning with " regard to ſcripture ſtood thus;" I ſuppoſe it only ſtood thus in his own mind, and was never before produced. And therefore I muſt recall the reader's thoughts to the two aſſertions tranſcribed from him above, and which compoſe his argument. And then he will perceive how much the inſtance I produced of Homer's poems, is to the purpoſe; and how little this new reaſoning is ſo. For the D—n ſtill proceeds

in the ſame miſtaken way, to conſider what related to his ſecond aſſertion, as if it had been levelled againſt his firſt.—But what ſhall a man do, who is got on the wrong ſide of the queſtion, but puzzle and perplex it as much as he can? He proceeds:

" But now what has Homer's poems to do in this " matter? I apprehend they are no *religious hiſtory*, " but compoſitions as far removed from it as poſſible, " namely a military and civil romance, brimfull of " fabulous trumpery. Now in ſuch a work, the " writer ſurely would be principally ſolicitous about " the civil motives of his actors. And Homer, who " is confeſſed to underſtand what belonged to every " kind of compoſition, would take care to keep " within his ſubject; and, to preſerve decorum, would " content himſelf with ſupplying his warriors and " politicians with ſuch motives as might beſt ſet off " their wiſdom and their heroiſm: ſuch as the *love* " *of power*, in which I compriſe revenge on their " enemies; the *love of plunder*, in which is included " their paſſion for fair captives; and the *love of glory*, " in which, if you pleaſe, you may reckon their re- " gard for their friends and their country." (Now comes the winding up of the argument) " But in " Homer's military and political romances, there is " hardly ſix inſtances in which a future ſtate is men- " tioned as the expreſs motive; therefore the per- " petual ſilence on this point in the religious hiſtory " of the Jews," (the Dean adds) " and the perpe- " tual mention of it in the religious hiſtories of the " Suevi and the Saracens, conclude nothing in favour " of the argument of the Divine Legation."

Thus we are got to the end of this firſt note, the whole whereof I have faithfully tranſcribed, And as it is written with more temper than thoſe that follow, and the ſubject may afford ſomething curious; if I dwell a little here, the learned reader will perhaps excuſe it.

Firſt then, it is obvious to remark, that the D—n hath here erected his hypotheſis (like many a great genius) without giving himſelf the trouble of enqui-

ring

ring into facts. He here tells us what Homer ſhould have done: not what he hath done: or rather, has concluded that he hath done, what he thinks he ſhould have done, viz. that the author of a military and civil romance ſhould be "principally ſolicitous "about the civil motives of his actors"—"and be "content to ſupply his warriors and politicians with "ſuch motives as—the love of power—the love of "plunder—and the love of glory."—Whereas had he ſuffered Homer to ſpeak for himſelf, or his poems to ſpeak for him, it might have appeared, that whatever other motives he hath ſupplied his warriors and politicians with, or they ſupplied themſelves, yet thoſe which have commonly the greateſt ſway with them, and which in the poet's judgment always ought to have, are the motives of religion. And if ſo, what becomes of this fine-ſpun argument from Homer's poems being no religious hiſtory? Hiſtory, or no hiſtory, if they treat of matters of religion (as they do in every page almoſt) we have a fair chance here (ſurely) to ſee mens religious motives ſcrutinized.

Next—the reader muſt not wonder at this little clauſe, here ſlipped in by the by—"and the perpe-"tual mention of it in the religious hiſtories of the "Suevi and the Saracens"; when the queſtion was only about the hiſtory of the Jews and Homer's poems. This at leaſt was the D—n's own ſtate of the queſtion, when he would have it thought that I oppoſed Homer's poems to the hiſtory of the Jews. But he is above the little forms of reaſoning ſtrictly; and therefore we muſt take him in his own method, as he here brings us about to the ſecond branch of his argument, viz. the influence which the doctrine of a future ſtate had upon all the reſt of the world except the Jews: and ſo Homer begins here to be in his proper place.

But before we proceed to Homer, let us examine the weight of this argument from the hiſtory of the Suevi and the Saracens.

Though the D—n had bid us to conſider the ſeveral "hiſtories of the reſt of mankind," (that is, all beſide the Jews) "whether recorded by bards or ſtateſmen, "philoſopers or prieſts": It is pleaſant to obſerve how he would put us off with the hiſtory of a nation or two of wild enthuſiaſts, the Suevi and the Saracens. He attempts indeed to ſay ſomewhat of a more civilized people, the Grecian *world* (as he call them, for there was need of amplification here) but one ſcarce knows which to admire moſt, the inſignificancy of the quotation, or the long way about that he has gone to fetch it.

"Let us conſider (ſays he) the hiſtory of the reſt "of mankind, whether recorded by bards or ſtateſ-"men, philoſophers or prieſts: in which we ſhall "find the doctrine of a future ſtate ſtill bearing, "throughout all the various circumſtances of human "life, a conſtant and principal ſhare in the deter-"minations of the will. And no wonder. We ſee "how ſtrong the Grecian world thought the ſanction "of it to be, by a paſſage in Pindar, quoted by Plu-"tarch in his tract of ſuperſtition, where he makes "it one circumſtance of the ſuperior happineſs of the "gods over men, that they ſtood not in fear of "Acheron".*

Thus the D—n hath given us his quotation from Pindar, by the canal of Plutarch, without the leaſt comment to direct us how we may underſtand it ſo as to ſerve the purpoſe he intended. And yet it may ſeem a little ſtrange at firſt, that the Gods ſhould not ſtand in fear of Acheron; ſince it is well known that there was another of theſe underground rivers which they ſtood very much in fear of, I mean, Styx. For it was the μέγας ὅρκος, the oath by which they uſed to ſwear, and which they dreaded the violation of.

By the fear of Acheron, then, may (perhaps) be only meant the fear of death; to which we mortals are ſubject, but from which the immortals are exempt.

* D. L. vol. II. part II. pa 165.

And

And what is this to the D—n's purpoſe? Or ſuppoſe there may be any other meaning in it, (for it is ſcarce worth while to conſult Plutarch for ſo odd a paſſage) are we obliged to take ſuch a dark ſcrap of Pindar or Plutarch, as evidence that the doctrine of a future ſtate bore a conſtant and principal ſhare in the determination of the will of the Grecian world?

But he proceeds to his other inſtances, which carry a more plauſible appearance, thus artfully introduced: "But not to be diſtracted by too large a "view, let us ſelect from the reſt of the nations "one or two moſt reſembling the Jewiſh. Thoſe "which come neareſt to them, and if the Jews were "only under human guidance, indeed extremely "near, were the Suevi of the north, and the Arabs "of the ſouth."*

I was a little ſcandalized, I muſt own, at firſt, that he ſhould hint at any reſemblance here; but he has happily removed it again, as far as we are concerned with it in the preſent argument, by that ſaving clauſe, "if the Jews were only under human "guidance." That is, had they been wild and barbarous like thoſe other nations, led on by a falſe prophet impoſing on their ignorance, and addreſſing to their paſſions; they might then, probably, have proceeded in the ſame wild way; and we might have had a hiſtory of the Jews tranſmitted to us very much reſembling that of the Saracens; or a ſet of Hebrew ſongs, like thoſe of the Suevi. "Both theſe "people" (proceeds the Dean) "were led out in "ſearch of new poſſeſſions, which they were to win "by the ſword. And both, it is confeſſed, had the "doctrine of a future ſtate inculcated into them by "their leaders Odin and Mahomet. Of the Arabs "we have a large and circumſtantial hiſtory: of "the Suevi we have only ſome few fragments of the "ſongs and ballads of their bards; yet they equally "ſerve to ſupport our concluſion. In the large "hiſtory of the Saracen empire we can ſcarce find a

* Ibid.

" page, and in the Runic rhymes of the Suevi ſcarce " a line, where the doctrine of a future ſtate was " not puſhing on its influence. It was their conſtant " viaticum through life; it ſtimulated them to war, " and ſpirited their ſongs of triumph; it made them " inſenſible of pain, immoveable in danger, and ſu- " perior to the hour of death."*

What ſubject is there, which an eloquence like the Dean's cannot raiſe into ſome eminence? But there is a cautious ſaying of thoſe acute old diſputants the ſchoolmen, who had been much exerciſed in the fields of controverſy, Dolus verſatur in generalibus. It is a very ſuſpicious circumſtance, when a writer keeps aloof, and within generals. The way to clear up a ſubject is to examine it minutely, by deſcending to particulars. The Dean therefore, inſtead of uſing his rhetoric here, ſhould have given us a few examples of that puſhing influence which this powerful principle had upon this people, that ſo we might have been the better able to judge of the merit of it. But ſince he has not done it, I ſhall take leave to produce one inſtance for him, and that no ordinary one neither, in Ikrimah, kinſman to the famous Saracen general Caled; of whom the learned hiſtorian in relating a battle of the Saracens and Chriſtians, has given us the following remarkable particular, taken from their own Arabic writers.

" But among all the Saracens, none ſignalized " himſelf ſo much that day as Ikrimah, Caled's cou- " ſin. He, thirſting after the imaginary joys of " Mahomet's fools paradiſe, cried out aloud, Me- " thinks I ſee the black-eyed girls looking upon me, " one of which, if ſhe ſhould appear in this world, " all mankind would die for the love of her, And I " ſee in the hand of one of them, an handkerchief of " green ſilk, and a cup made of precious ſtones, and " ſhe beckons me, and calls out, come hither quick- " ly, for I love thee. With theſe words charging " the Chriſtians, he made havock where he went;

* D. L. vol. II. part II. pa. 165,6.

" till

"till obſerved by the governour of Hems, he was "ſtruck through with a javelin."* And ſo there was an end of this Saracen hero with his viſions.

Now can any one wonder, if multitudes of ignorant and deluded wretches, who had thoroughly imbibed the principles of their mock-prophet, ſhould behave in the ſame daring manner, when animated with the alluring promiſes he had made them of the plunder of this world; or if that ſhould fail, of black-eyed beautiful virgins in the next? Were the Chriſtian paradiſe the ſame with the Mohammedan, we have many a pretty fellow, doubtleſs, who though he may have now a natural averſion to fighting, would then ſhew himſelf as great a hero as Ikrimah.

But if the Dean ſuppoſed that the doctrine of a future ſtate muſt always have the ſame effect upon a people that believes it, whatever be their notion of it, as it had upon the Saracens: we may aſk, whence comes it, that we ſee wars carried on among Chriſtians (who, it is to be hoped, have not abſolutely thrown off this belief) after quite another manner? Why do Chriſtian princes go to war as if they were aſhamed of it, and take ſo much pains to throw the blame upon each other? Why are their wars leſs bloody? Whence is it, that amongſt our military men we have ſo many examples of a diſtinguiſhed bravery, joined with an humanity no leſs obſervable? I hope I may have leave to think, that as they have been better taught, they act upon a better principle. And though it muſt needs be that offences come; and war is one of thoſe plagues which the world will never be without, as long as there are men of turbulent and ambitious ſpirits in it: yet if thoſe who fight our battles for us, are perſuaded of the juſtice of their cauſe, and animated with the love of their country; a country, which for the happineſs of its ſituation, as well as its civil and religious conſtitution, is perhaps the moſt deſirable ſpot upon earth—if they have

* See Ockley's hiſtory of the Saracens, vol. I. pa. 219. ſecond edition.

ſo much magnanimity as to reflect, that by the toils and hazards which they undergo, they are doing their part to ſecure theſe bleſſings to millions of their fellow-ſubjects and their friends; and if this be that ſpur of honour which excites their courage, I know not why we may not ſay, that they act thus far upon a Chriſtian principle: and if there be no inconſiſtency in their conduct, no little meanneſſes, (for every vice betrays an impotence of mind, and has ſomething in it that is mean and baſe) to counter-act this better principle; will undoubtedly be entitled to a ſuitable reward hereafter.

There is ſomething to our purpoſe, in more reſpects than one, in a paſſage of Joſephus, which I ſhall here tranſcribe. (contra Ap. lib. ii. 23.)

"When we offer ſacrifice (ſays he) we ought firſt "to pray for the proſperity of the community, and then for ourſelves: ὅτι γὰρ κοινωνίᾳ γεγόναμεν, καὶ ταύτην ὁ σπουδῶν τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰδίας, μάλιστα ἂν θεῷ κεχαρισμένος. "For we are born for the community; and he that "prefers the common good to his own, will be the "moſt acceptable to God."

There is another reading, and perhaps a better: not, τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰδίας, but, τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν βίας — * "he "that prefers the common good to *his own life*."

This is the more likely to be the true reading, becauſe Joſephus, in a following paragraph, ſpeaking of the ſanctity of their laws, and the reward that was propoſed to thoſe who religiouſly obſerved them, ſays, that this reward "was not ſilver or gold, or "ſuch crowns, or garlands, as were beſtowed in the "Grecian games, together with a proclamation in "honour of the victor"; but what? (what the D—n's new ſyſtem will ſcarce admit of) "the teſtimony of "a good conſcience, relying on what their law-"giver had foretold, and God aſſured them of, that "to thoſe who reſolutely keep his laws, and, if they "ſhould be called to it, readily die for them, God "would grant a regeneration or reſurrection to a

* See Hudſon's Joſephus, vol. II. pa. 1380.

"better

" better life."— ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν, καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ περιόδου. * And as a proof of this their belief, he appeals to the behaviour of his countrymen under the ſevereſt trials, and their chuſing to undergo tortures and death, rather than to violate the leaſt tittle of their law. A ſtrong proof, no doubt; the ſtrongeſt men can give of their perſuaſion.

This is the teſtimony of Joſephus to the belief of his own people. And yet this hiſtorian (to obſerve it by the way) was, I think, the firſt writer who was known to uſe the word *Theocracy*; upon which the author of the D. L. has raiſed ſo many refinements, and taken occaſion to ſay ſo many curious things about the ſanctions of laws.

The higheſt ſanction that can be given to any law, is the authority of God enjoining it. For all men who conceive of him aright, muſt know, that he can and will reward the obſervance of his laws, and puniſh the breach of them, either in this life, or another, or in both; as ſhall ſeem beſt to his infinite wiſdom, And therefore had there been no other ſanction of the law of Moſes, beſide that ſolemn and awful one delivered in the name of God, Deut. xxx. 19. " I " call heaven and earth to record this day againſt you, " that I have ſet before you life and death, bleſſing " and curſing; therefore chuſe life."—No Iſraelite of common underſtanding could doubt, when he was called to aſſert that law with the loſs or hazard of his life, but that the ſupreme law-giver would reward him for it in another and a better life. And

* Hudſon's Joſephus, vol. II. p. 1383. The literal rendering is, " God hath granted to be born again, and to receive a better life in its turn, or in reverſion." If Joſephus, and the Jews of his time, or a century or two before him, underſtood theſe phraſes in a low ſenſe; yet the ancient Jews might have a better notion of them; and muſt, if they underſtood rightly what their high privilege was, of being called the ſons of God. Our Saviour Chriſt ſeems to have uſed the ſame word παλιγγενεσία, or regeneration; for the reſurrection in a Chriſtian ſenſe; as ſome learned men have obſerved. Matt. xix. 28.

there

there are many places in the Old Teſtament, where the word *life* may, and ought to be underſtood in this ſenſe.

We know that the love of God with all the heart, and all the ſoul; which draws after it the love of our neighbour, the love of the community, the love of virtue, the love of every thing that is (like Him) great and good—is as ſtrongly enjoined in the Old Teſtament as in the New. But is impoſſible to be ſupported as a rational principle, unleſs God be conſidered as a rewarder of them that love and ſeek him, men of piety and virtue. And if this reward be not allotted them in this life, it will be in another.

The pious and virtuous Iſraelite therefore (eſpecially in the circumſtance abovementioned) if he had a right notion of God, could not but believe another ſtate of life, as well as the pious and virtuous Chriſtian: however he might fall ſhort of him in the ſtrength of his belief, if the evidence to him was leſs; or in comprehending the nature of that ſtate, if leſs of it had been revealed to him.

Still the thing itſelf is ſo natural and reaſonable an expectation; that ſcarce any thing, beſide the biaſs of a corrupt heart, can incline a thoughtful man to diſbelieve or queſtion it. Men may ſhut their eyes indeed (like children, that they may not ſee their danger) when a conſciouſneſs of guilt hath made the proſpect dreadful: but what ſhould hinder a virtuous mind from believing, that hereafter there ſhall be a ſuitable reward of virtue?

That there can be no ſuch reward in this life, ſeems plain from hence—that the higheſt pitch of virtue we can form a notion of, conſiſts in theſe two things: in aiming at the greateſt good to mankind, or to our country, or as far as our influence and ſphere of action (in the ſtation wherein providence hath placed us) may extend; and in a readineſs, as occa-

occaſion ſhall require, to undergo the greateſt difficulties and dangers in the proſecution of it. Now unleſs difficulty and danger, and the hazard or the loſs of life, can be called a reward; what reward is here for this higheſt pitch of virtue?

And yet that this is a right notion of it, ſeems to need but little proof; whether we recur to the meaning of the word for virtue in the learned languages and others; or obſerve where it is that mankind univerſally beſtow their praiſes moſt; or where the conſentiens laus bonorum, the praiſe of worthy and good men falls: ſtill, to do well, and ſuffer ill; to intend the greateſt good, and decline no toils or hazards to procure it; ſeem to be the two ingredients of this eminent pitch of virtue: and he who ſhrinks at the one, will perform the other but very imperfectly.

And therefore it may ſeem ſtrange that Mr. Wollaſton, who had conſidered "the world as a palæſtra, "wherein we are to be exerciſed with difficulties and "temptations,"* and theſe no ſlight ones neither, according to the ſad hiſtory of human life which he hath given us †, ſhould nevertheleſs treat ſo ſparingly and jejunely of that fortitude or magnanimity, which is a habit ſo neceſſary to be acquired in theſe circumſtances, as if it were ſcarce to be reckoned in the number of the virtues. Whereas rightly conſidered, if it be not virtue itſelf, it is that which gives the brighteſt luſtre to it, and is inſeparable from it ‡. It is perhaps the very root from whence benevolence

* Relig. of Nat. pa. 72. 4to.

† See pa. 200—to 208.

‡ It may be worth while to obſerve, what the famous Stagirite ſays of this ſame μεγαλοψυχία, or magnanimity—Τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνδρα μεγαλόψυχον, δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, &c. "A man of true magnanimity (ſays he) muſt needs be a man of virtue: and it ſeems "to be characteriſtic of this noble quality, to aim at what is great "and excellent in every virtue." (Ariſtot. Eth. 7. Nicomach. lib. 4. cap. 7.) And juſt after—Ἔοικε μὲν οὖν ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, οἷον κόσμος τις εἶναι τῶν ἀρετῶν—that "it is as the ornament or crown of "all the virtues."

The

volence itſelf ſprings: or, if not; yet the other muſt be weak and imperfect without it. For where ſuch a ſelfiſh paſſion as fear is admitted to any inordinate degree; there will be always a great obſtruction to the exerciſe of this generous and ſocial diſpoſition. All the truly great and heroic things that have been ever done in the world, ſeem to have proceeded from theſe two principles united: and without ſome ſhare of both, it is impoſſible for any good man to diſcharge his duty as he ought. The paſſive fortitude, eſpecially, he will commonly find great occaſion for, whatever be his ſtate of life.

But two things may be ſaid in excuſe for this learned and ingenious author. One (which he intimates himſelf) that the notion of fortitude, meaning the active, had been greatly abuſed *, and had cauſed great miſchiefs in the world. The other, and a better excuſe for him, is this: that the limits of his ſubject would not ſuffer him to look at this noble quality in that height wherein our Chriſtianity has placed it. For charity and fortitude united make up our idea of that Chriſtian magnanimity,

The Greek and Latin words ἀρετὴ and virtus, are frequently uſed in a contracted ſenſe for fortitude alone. With Homer δειλὸς and κακὸς, and ſo ἀγαθὸς and ἐσθλὸς, are often put as terms ſynonymous; and as for the Hebrew, I know of no other phraze to expreſs even a virtuous woman by, but eſheth chail, a woman of fortitude. As Prov. xii. 4. and xxxi. 10. as alſo Ruth iii. 11. I offer theſe few hints the rather, as ſo much hath been written of late years to fix the preciſe notion of virtue. And the judicious reader will conſider, whether thoſe who have endeavoured to pourtray her, have not overlooked one of her moſt ſtriking features.

I muſt add however, that the philoſophers among the heathen, though (like all other men) they were ſtruck with admiration of this great and noble quality, this virtuous magnanimity; yet when they had once ſeparated it from religion, and the belief of another life; they were utterly unable to ſupport it upon any juſt or reaſonable grounds. And their arguings upon this ſubject, like the flights of ſome of our modern refiners who have copied after them, appear extremely weak and romantic.

* See Relig. of Nat. pa. 182. 4to.

than

than which, conſidered in its ſublimeſt degree, perhaps a higher pitch of virtue cannot be conceived.

This therefore, I hope I may proceed to ſay without offence, was the conſummate virtue of the great captain of our ſalvation. This the virtue of his apoſtles, and firſt diſciples: who in ſpreading the light of the goſpel over the world through perſecutions, dangers, deaths, well knew that they were engaged in a work of the higheſt importance to the happineſs of mankind both preſent and future; and were doubtleſs animated by the conſideration of it.

They were promiſed, you will ſay, by their lord and maſter, that "great ſhould be their reward in "heaven."

They were, and they believed his promiſes, and had the higheſt reaſon ſo to do; and acted the more reaſonably for this belief, and therefore (ſurely) not the leſs commendably. It were well for us, if we believed them too, as heartily as they.

But what was the reward he promiſed them after all their toils and hazards? The moſt ſuitable reward of virtue; the conſummation and the full enjoyment of it in a ſecure, a more exalted, and an everlaſting ſtate—"A kingdom wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs—prepared for the good and juſt from the foundation of the world—where they ſhould ſee or know God—ſhould be like him—ſhould be made perfect—ſhould be equal to the angels, and can die no more; being the children of God, and children of the reſurrection"—In a word, a ſpiritual and ſocial happineſs, ſuch as none but virtuous minds can reliſh; and for which they were to be trained up by the habit and exerciſe of every virtue, whether human, ſocial, or divine. Such a reward therefore as agrees with the beſt conceptions of the beſt and wiſeſt men; and is worthy of the beſt and wiſeſt Being to beſtow. And if gifts and rewards are to be eſtimated by the high dignity, the power, the munificence of the giver; this

this heavenly reward may include in it many things whereof at preſent we can have no ideas; and therefore is juſtly repreſented as inconceivable.

Now I would faign hope, that the world is not yet ſo abandoned, but that this belief may be working at the bottom of the hearts of millions of thoſe who are bred in Chriſtian countries, and exciting them to the purſuit and practice of every virtue: and eſpecially perſons of juſt and generous diſpoſitions, who will always be the beſt prepared to believe another life; as well as to entertain right notions of it, and ſuch as, from the few hints now given, appear to be the Chriſtian.

But as ſuch a reward is accommodated to the higheſt reaſon of our minds; I apprehend, that it is fitted to produce the beſt effects in a calm and ſteady way, and with a leſs outward ſhew (perhaps) of its influence: or (to come home to the inſtance which occaſioned theſe reflections) without raiſing the paſſions to ſuch a heighth, as either to drive men upon the ſilly freaks of ſuperſtition; or the more miſchievous barbarities of a wild enthuſiaſm, like that of the Saracens, which the D—n hath picked out for our contemplation.

And I hope this may ſuffice for anſwer to the argument drawn from the hiſtory of the Saracens. Unleſs it ſhould be objected, that I have been here oppoſing to it the effect which the belief of a future ſtate has upon Chriſtians, inſtead of Jews. But it is eaſy to perceive, that if the Jews enjoyed a leſs degree of light; their belief of courſe would operate in proportion leſs forcibly or apparently. So that the reaſoning holds yet ſtronger with reſpect to theſe.

There are no traces of a Mahommedan paradiſe to be found in the Old Teſtament, to engage the affections of this people, or to raiſe their courage: though (I think) they are put in mind of their acherith, or future ſtate, for that purpoſe. But the traces of that life and immortality which was revealed more

more clearly under the goſpel, are very diſcoverable there in the Books of Moſes, and the prophets, and the Pſalms: and had their proper influence (no doubt) on the wiſe and good under that diſpenſation, as they now have under this. At leaſt, thus I muſt take leave to think; till the large evidence that has been produced for a thing in its own nature ſo highly credible, is fully and fairly overthrown. Which is not to be done merely by oppoſing to it any new or fanciful ſyſtem, ſupported by a little oratorial flouriſh—and (I wiſh I could not add) illeberal railing.

As for the hiſtory of the Suevi, and the few fragments of the ſongs or ballads of their bards; I muſt leave them to the D—n to make the moſt of. But had intended to ſay ſomewhat in behalf of Homer, who is a ſufferer here in the ſame cauſe with me; had not the ſlow procedure of the preſs made me judge it neceſſary to break off the courſe of theſe remarks at preſent, and wait another opportunity.

F I N I S.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM